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WASHINGTON POST SUNDAY DECEMBER 9, 1973
BY JOSEPH KRAFT

THE PATHOS OF EUROPE

BRUSSELS—"THE PATHOS OF EUROPE," A SENIOR AMERICAN OFFICIAL EXCLAIMED AS THE YEAR-END MEETING OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIES BEGAN HERE IN BRUSSELS. THAT TRAGIC, ALMOST TWILIGHT NOTE DOES INDEED EXPRESS THE TONE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ITS LEADING EUROPEAN FRIENDS.

FOR THERE IS NOW AN OPPORTUNITY TO MOVE FROM THE BACKBITING OF DOCTRINAL DEBATE TO COOPERATION IN SOLVING THE ACUTE MUTUAL PROBLEM OF ENERGY. BUT THE ODDS ARE THAT THE OPPORTUNITY WILL BE MISSED, AND MAYBE MISSED FOREVER, BECAUSE OF POLITICAL WEAKNESS HERE AND IN WASHINGTON.

THE OPPORTUNITY IS VERY CLEAR. FOR THE PAST DOZEN YEARS THE BALEFUL SPIRIT OF GEN. DE GAULLE HAS IMPOSED UPON TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS AN INVIDIOUS POLEMIC. THAT UGLY SPIRIT HAS ANIMATED ALL RECENT DISPUTES ABOUT NUCLEAR WEAPONS, SHARING THE BURDEN OF DEFENSE COSTS, FAIR TRADING TERMS AND MONETARY REFORM.

THESE PETTY DISPUTES THRIVED IN THE PAST DECADE AS A LUXURY AFFORDED BY THE ABSENCE OF TRULY GRAVE PROBLEMS. BUT NOW THE EUROPEANS AND NORTH AMERICANS ARE BOTH BURDENED BY THE ENERGY SHORTAGE.

THE PROBLEM IS PARTICULARLY GRAVE HERE BECAUSE THE EUROPEANS ARE SO DEPENDENT UPON ARAB OIL. THE DUTCH, WHO HAVE MADE NO SECRET OF THEIR SYMPATHY FOR ISRAEL, HAVE BEEN CUT OFF FROM ARAB SHIPMENTS ALTOGETHER. THE WEST GERMANS, HEAVILY DEPENDENT ON THE GREAT REFINERY AT ROTTERDAM FOR GASOLINE, ARE ON THE BRINK OF ECO-

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NOMIC DISASTER. EVEN HERE IN BELGIUM, AND IN SUCH RELATIVELY FAVORED COUNTRIES AS BRITAIN AND FRANCE, THE LIGHTS ARE GOING OUT, THERE ARE RESTRICTIONS ON DRIVING AND UNEMPLOYMENT IS BEGINNING TO SHOW.

MUTUAL EFFORT BY THE ATLANTIC COUNTRIES COULD PLAINLY EASE THESE BURDENS ENORMOUSLY. IF NOTHING ELSE, A POOLING OF RESEARCH EFFORTS COULD CONSIDERABLY SPEED THE DAY WHEN EUROPEANS AND AMERICANS COULD BRING INTO PLAY NEW SOURCES OF ENERGY SUCH AS GASIFIED COAL OR SHALE OR NUCLEAR POWER. IN ARGUING WITH THE ARABS EVEN NOW, MOREOVER, A JOINT STAND BY THE CONSUMER COUNTRIES WOULD BE FAR MORE EFFECTIVE THAN THE INDIVIDUAL RUSH TO SURRENDER WHICH AT PRESENT CHARACTERIZES THE EUROPEANS-IN PARTICULAR THE BRITISH AND THE FRENCH.

BUT TWO MALADIES POISON THE POSSIBILITIES. THE EUROPEANS, UNDER THE SPELL OF FRENCH LEADERSHIP AND GAULLIST DOCTRINE, STILL HAVE A THING ABOUT THE UNITED STATES AS A MALEVOLENT SUPERPOWER. DURING THE LAST WAR IN THE MIDEAST, THE FRENCH AND THE BRITISH ESPECIALLY, AND THE GERMANS TO A LESSER EXTENT, PUT OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF HELPING THE UNITED STATES OFFSET WHAT LOOKED LIKE A BIG SOVIET GRAB FOR POWER IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. THEY ALSO CHOSE TO DIVORCE THEMSELVES FROM THE UNITED STATES ON ENERGY, THE BETTER TO APPEAL TO THE ARAB OIL-PRODUCERS.

ON THE AMERICAN SIDE, THERE IS A SHARP DIVISION OF AIMS OF A HIGHLY PERSONAL NATURE. SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY GEORGE SHULTZ, WHO WANTS TO MAINTAIN CURRENCY EXCHANGE RATES WHICH ARE SO FAVORABLE TO AMERICAN EXPORTS, HAS BEEN CURRING FAVOR WITH THE LEADING EUROPEAN FINANCE MINISTERS. SECRETARY OF DEFENSE JAMES SCLESINGER HAS BEEN ENCOURAGING THE EUROPEANS TO GET ON WITH THE JOB OF ORGANIZING A MORE CONVENTIONAL FORCE.

AND SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER HAS A PERSONAL STAKE IN WRINGING FROM THE EUROPEANS THE DECLARATIONS OF ATLANTIC PRINCIPLES WHICH HE CALLED FOR IN HIS APRIL SPEECH PROPOSING A NEW ATLANTIC CHARTER. HE HAS ALSO COMMITTED HIS FULL PRESTIGE TO A SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDEAST.

NOW HE IS LASHING OUT PRIVATELY AND PUBLICLY AT EUROPEAN RELUCTANCE TO HELP HIM IN THE MIDEAST AND TO BE FORTHCOMING WITH A RINGING DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. HE WAS SO FURIOUS WHEN PRIME MINISTER EDWARD HEATH OF GREAT BRITAIN REBUTTED SOME OF HIS CRITICISMS IN A MILD AND INDIRECT WAY THAT HE ALMOST CALLED OFF A MAJOR SPEECH SCHEDULED FOR LONDON THIS WEDNESDAY.

ALL THIS PETTY BICKERING COULD NOW BE SUBORDINATED TO THE LARGER CHALLENGE OF THE ENERGY CRISIS. MY STRONG IMPRESSION IS THAT THE EUROPEAN PUBLIC, LIKE THE AMERICAN PUBLIC, WOULD RESPOND VIGOROUSLY TO A CALL FOR GENEROUS SACRIFICE. DR. KISSINGER, WITH HIS VAST

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REPUTATION, MIGHT WELL MOBILIZE THE EUROPEAN PUBLIC TO PUSH THEIR GOVERNMENTS TO LESS IGNOBLE POSITIONS, BUT SO FAR THERE HAS BEEN NO SIGN FROM DR. KISSINGER OF SUCH A LARGE PURPOSE. WHICH IS WHY THE SPIRIT HERE IN EUROPE IS SO MELANCHOLY.

STAR-NEWS SUNDAY DECEMBER 9, 1973

WHY THE WHITE HOUSE CREATED A PLUMBERS TEAM
BY SEYMOUR M. HERSH

(THIS IS THE FIRST OF A SERIES OF ARTICLES ON THE WHITE HOUSE
"PLUMBERS.")

FOR MONTHS, PRESIDENT NIXON HAS BEEN CITING NATIONAL SECURITY AS THE REASON FOR AUTHORIZING ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SECRET WHITE HOUSE INVESTIGATION UNIT KNOWN AS THE "PLUMBERS" AND AS JUSTIFICATION FOR RESTRICTING SOME ASPECTS OF THE WATERGATE INQUIRY.

THE PRESIDENT HAS NEVER GIVEN ANY DETAILS OF HIS NATIONAL SECURITY CONCERNS, NOTING THAT THEY WERE "HIGHLY SENSITIVE" MATTERS.

INTERVIEWS OVER THE LAST MONTH WITH DOZENS OF PAST AND PRESENT ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS, INCLUDING MEN WHO WERE CLOSELY INVOLVED WITH THE PLUMBERS, HAVE DISCLOSED THAT AT LEAST TWO PRINCIPAL NATIONAL SECURITY FEARS, NEITHER OF WHICH HAS EVER BEEN SUBSTANTIATED, MOTIVATED THE PRESIDENT.

ONE FEAR-PROVOKED IN PART, SOME SOURCES SAID, BY HENRY A. KISSINGER, THEN THE PRESIDENT'S NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER-WAS THAT DANIEL ELLSBERG MIGHT PASS ON TO THE SOVIET UNION NUCLEAR DEFENSE AND OTHER SECRETS FAR MORE IMPORTANT THAN ANY INFORMATION CONTAINED IN THE PENTAGON PAPERS, A PENTAGON STUDY OF UNITED STATES INVOLVEMENT IN THE VIETNAM WAR, WHICH HE LEAKED TO THE PRESS.

THE SECOND MAJOR CONCERN WAS THAT A RUSSIAN KGB AGENT WHO WAS SERVING AS AN AMERICAN COUNTERSPY MIGHT BE JEOPARDIZED.

THE ADMINISTRATION THOUGHT, THE SOURCES SAID, THAT ANY EXTENSIVE INVESTIGATION BY THE WATERGATE PROSECUTORS OR THE SPECIAL SENATE WATERGATE COMMITTEE WOULD DIVULGE DEFENSE SECRETS THAT ELLSBERG POSSESSED, EXPOSE THE SOVIET SPY AND ENDANGER COMMUNICATIONS AND ESPIONAGE SECRETS.

OFFICIALS INTERVIEWED DISAGREED SHARPLY OVER THE LEGITIMACY OF THESE FEARS AND OTHER NATIONAL SECRETS THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS SAID HE WAS TRYING TO PROTECT IN 1971 BY BYPASSING THE POLICE AGENCIES IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO SET UP THE PLUMBERS, AND BY INSISTING THIS SPRING-AT THE HEIGHT OF THE WATERGATE CONTROVERSY-THAT THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT STOP ITS INQUIRY INTO THE PLUMBERS.

A NUMBER OF WELL-IN-FORMED PERSONS, SOME OF THEM WITH LONG CAREERS IN INTELLIGENCE, QUESTIONED WHETHER THE PRESIDENT'S CONCERN JUSTIFIED ESTABLISHING THE PLUMBERS, AND WHETHER HIS LATER INVOKING OF NATIONAL SECURITY WAS PART OF THE WATERGATE COVER-UP.

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WHY THE WHITE HOUSE CREATED A PLUMBERS TEAM
BY SEYMOUR M. HERSH (CONTINUED)

THEY NOTED THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAD FAILED TO DEVELOP ANY EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT THE BELIEF THAT ELLSBERG HAD EVER EVEN CONSIDERED PASSING ANY INFORMATION TO A FOREIGN POWER. THESE SOURCES ALSO POINTED OUT THAT THE KGB AGENT, WHOSE EXISTENCE IS ONE OF THE FBI'S MOST CLOSELY GUARDED SECRETS, HAS LONG BEEN CONSIDERED OF DOUBIOUS LOYALTY AND VALUE BY COUNTERINTELLIGENCE EXPERTS IN THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY.

LAST MAY THE TIMES REPORTED THAT THE ORIGINAL WATERGATE PROSECUTORS HAD CONCLUDED THAT THE WHITE HOUSE HAD PARTICIPATED IN COVERING UP THE JUNE 1972 WATERGATE BREAK-IN NOT ONLY FOR POLITICAL REASONS BUT ALSO TO INSURE THAT E. HOWARD HUNT JR. AND G. GORDON LIDDY, TWO MEMBERS OF THE WATERGATE BREAK-IN TEAM, KEPT SILENT ABOUT THEIR ROLE IN THE PLUMBERS.

THE SUBSEQUENT SPECIAL WATERGATE INVESTIGATORS DISAGREED, UPON BEING TOLD SOME OF THE SPECIFICS BEHIND THE ADMINISTRATION'S CONCERN OVER NATIONAL SECURITY.

ARCHIBALD COX, THEN SPECIAL PROSECUTOR, WAS APPARENTLY PERSUADED TO DELAY PLANS FOR INDICTMENTS TO FORESTALL POSSIBLE SUBPOENAS OF GOVERNMENT SECRETS BY DEFENDANTS.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THE NEW SPECIAL PROSECUTOR, LEON JAWORSKI, TOLD A SENATE HEARING LAST MONTH THAT NONE OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION PRESENTED TO HIM THUS FAR WOULD PRECLUDE BRINGING INDICTMENTS.

AND LATE LAST MONTH, EGIL KROGH JR., A CO-DIRECTOR OF THE PLUMBERS, PLEADED GUILTY TO A CRIMINAL CHARGE IN CONNECTION WITH THE BURGLARY OF THE OFFICE OF ELLSBERG'S PSYCHIATRIST AND SAID THAT "IN CONSCIENCE," HE COULD NO LONGER ASSERT NATIONAL SECURITY AS A DEFENSE.

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THE WHITE HOUSE DID NOT COMMENT IMMEDIATELY ON THE TIMES DISCLOSURES YESTERDAY AND KISSINGER, THROUGH A SPOKESMAN, SAID HE WOULD STAND ON HIS PREVIOUS DENIALS OF ANY KNOWLEDGE OF THE PLUMBERS.

AMONG THE MAJOR FINDINGS FROM THE INTERVIEWS WERE THESE:

1. THERE WAS A SUSPICION-NEVER PROVED-IN THE WHITE HOUSE THAT ELLSBERG, A FORMER RAND CORP. AND DEFENSE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL, MAY HAVE BEEN A SOVIET INTELLIGENCE AGENT WHO, IN THE WEEKS AFTER PUBLICATION OF THE PENTAGON PAPERS IN JUNE 1971 COULD HAVE TURNED OVER DETAILS OF THE UNITED STATES' MOST CLOSELY HELD NUCLEAR TARGETING SECRETS.
2. THERE WAS A CONCERN THAT A HIGHLY PLACED SOVIET AGENT OF THE KGB, THE SOVIET INTELLIGENCE AGENCY, OPERATING AS AN INFORMER FOR THE UNITED STATES, WOULD BE COMPROMISED BY CONTINUED INQUIRY INTO THE ELLSBERG CASE. THIS AGENT INFORMED HIS FBI CONTACTS THAT A SET OF THE PENTAGON PAPERS HAD BEEN DELIVERED TO THE SOVIET EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON SHORTLY AFTER A FEDERAL COURT HAD ORDERED THE TIMES TO STOP PRINTING ITS SERIES OF ARTICLES ON THE PENTAGON PAPERS.
3. KISSINGER PLAYED A FAR MORE CRITICAL ROLE THAN PUBLICLY KNOWN IN THE WHITE HOUSE DECISION TO BEGIN AN EXTENSIVE INQUIRY INTO THE BACKGROUND OF ELLSBERG AND, ULTIMATELY, TO SET UP THE PLUMBERS OPERATIONS. KISSINGER HAD REPEATEDLY DENIED KNOWING AT THE TIME EVEN OF THE EXISTENCE OF THE GROUP, WHICH INCLUDED DAVID R. YOUNG JR., ONE OF HIS NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL AIDES.
4. A PARAGRAPH THAT WAS DELETED FROM AN AUG. 11, 1971, PLUMBERS MEMORANDUM MADE PUBLIC LAST SUMMER BY THE SENATE WATERGATE COMMITTEE CONCERNED A WHITE HOUSE REQUEST THAT BRITISH INTELLIGENCE ATTEMPT TO DETERMINE WHETHER ELLSBERG HAD ANY CONTACT WITH THE KGB WHILE ATTENDING CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY IN THE EARLY 1950S. INVESTIGATORS BELIEVE THE REQUEST WAS APPROVED BUT NO DEROGATORY EVIDENCE ABOUT ELLSBERG WAS OBTAINED. THE SENATE ACCEDED TO A WHITE HOUSE PLEA OF NATIONAL SECURITY, AND THE MEMORANDUM WAS SUBSEQUENTLY RELEASED WITH A BLANKED-OUT SPACE.
5. SOME WHITE HOUSE OFFICIALS, INCLUDING THE PLUMBERS, BELIEVED THAT A HIGHLY PLACED CIA INFORMER IN THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT WAS COMPROMISED BY A TIMES DISPATCH PUBLISHED ON AUG. 13, 1971.
6. SOME PLUMBERS, NOTABLY YOUNG, BELIEVED THAT A HIGHLY CLASSIFIED NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCY INTERCEPTION OPERATION INVOLVING A

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SATELLITE CAPABLE OF PICKING UP RADIO-TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS OF SOVIET LEADERS HAD BEEN COMPROMISED BY INFORMATION CONTAINED IN THE PENTAGON PAPERS BUT NOT PUBLISHED BY THE TIMES. NO EVIDENCE HAS BEEN PRODUCED TO SUBSTANTIATE THIS BELIEF, INFORMED SOURCES SAID.

7. THE PLUMBERS, CONTRARY TO WHITE HOUSE ASSURANCES, REPORTEDLY PARTICIPATED IN AT LEAST ONE AS YET UNDISCLOSED OPERATION IN LATE 1971, SHORTLY AFTER PUBLICATION OF SECRET WHITE HOUSE DOCUMENTS ON THE INDIA-PAKISTAN WAR BY COLUMNIST JACK ANDERSON. THAT INVESTIGATION, DIRECTED BY JOHN D. EHRLICHMAN, THEN NIXON'S DOMESTIC ADVISER, AND YOUNG, INVOLVED WIRETAPPING, ALTHOUGH IT COULD NOT BE LEARNED HOW MANY TAPS WERE INSTALLED OR WHO WAS TAPPED.

THE INTERVIEWS PRODUCED A CONSENSUS THAT IT WAS THE HIGHLY CLASSIFIED KNOWLEDGE POSSESSED BY ELLSBERG HIMSELF-AND NOT PUBLICATION OF THE TOP SECRET PENTAGON PAPERS-THAT MOST SIGNIFICANTLY ALARMED NIXON AND KISSINGER.

NIXON HAS CITED NATIONAL SECURITY AS JUSTIFICATION NOT ONLY FOR THE ORIGINAL DECISION TO SET UP THE PLUMBERS OPERATION BUT ALSO AS CAUSE FOR HIS INITIAL RELUCTANCE LAST APRIL TO PERMIT DETAILS OF THE BREAK-IN AT ELLSBERG'S PSYCHIATRIST'S OFFICES TO BE FORWARDED TO THE CALIFORNIA FEDERAL COURT WHERE ELLSBERG WAS ON TRIAL FOR THEFT OF GOVERNMENT PROPERTY AND UNAUTHORIZED POSSESSION OF NATIONAL DEFENSE MATERIALS. THAT CASE WAS SUBSEQUENTLY DISMISSED BY FEDERAL JUDGE MATTHEW BYRNE JR.

FORMER HIGH WHITE HOUSE OFFICIALS WHO WERE INVOLVED IN SOME OF THE KEY DECISIONS MADE IN THE DAYS AFTER PUBLICATION OF THE PENTAGON PAPERS ACKNOWLEDGED IN INTERVIEWS THAT ALL THE NATIONAL SECURITY CONCERNS THEN BELIEVED TO BE AT STAKE HAVE NOT BEEN ESTABLISHED. BUT THEY ARGUED NONETHELESS THAT THE WHITE HOUSE TRULY BELIEVED THAT THE PENTAGON PAPERS AND LATER NEWSPAPER LEAKS POSED UNPRECEDENTED PROBLEMS.

THE PUBLICATION OF THE PENTAGON PAPERS CAME WITH NO ADVANCE WARNING, THE SOURCES RECALLED, AND AT A TIME WHEN KISSINGER WAS INVOLVED IN SECRET NEGOTIATIONS WITH THREE COUNTRIES-CHINA, THE SOVIET UNION AND NORTH VIETNAM.

WHEN THE PENTAGON PAPERS WERE PUBLISHED, THE SOURCES SAID, NIXON WAS EXTREMELY DISTRESSED, BUT NO MORE SO THAN HIS CHIEF FOREIGN ADVISER. "HENRY WAS LITERALLY CLIMBING THE WALLS," ONE WHITE HOUSE INSIDER SAID.

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